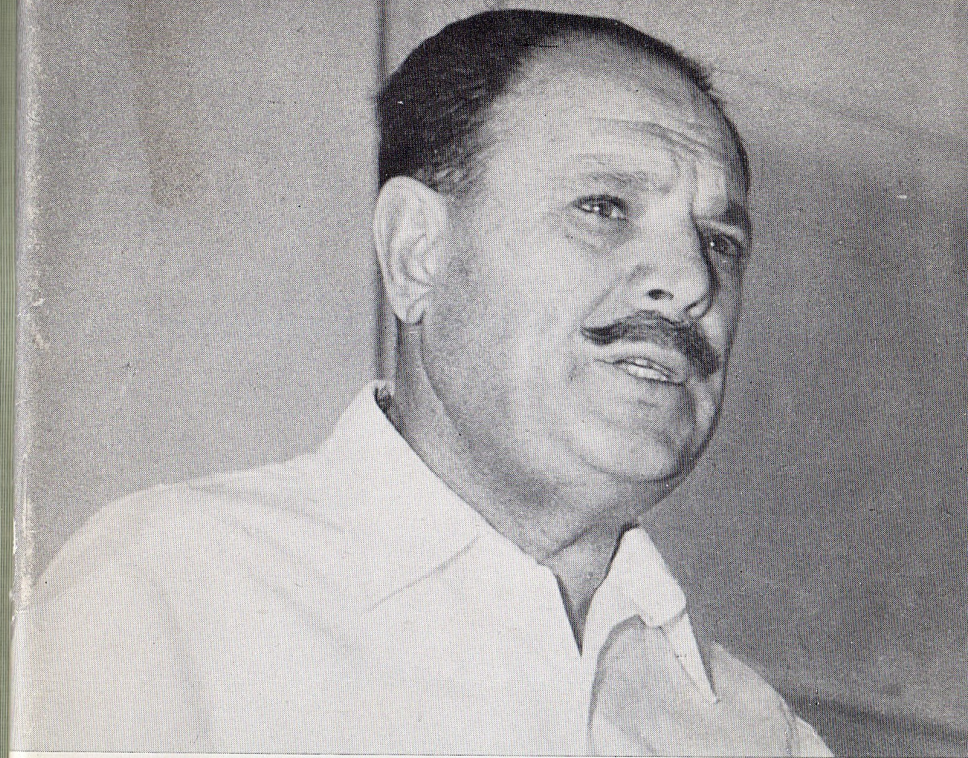



**University of
Texas Libraries**
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN



P R E S I D E N T A Y U B
O N
T H E C R I S I S
O V E R
K A S H M I R

Add- pcg
PS/MB

P R E S I D E N T A Y U B

O N

T H E C R I S I S

O V E R

K A S H M I R

"The sacrifices that Pakistanis are making for the preservation of their homeland will not be in vain. Pakistanis are steeled in their resolve not only to throw the intruder from their soil, but to give a crushing blow to the Indian aggression.

"In this hour of reckoning, Pakistan has the sympathy and support of many a nation of the world who believe in justice and freedom. In fact, it is in times like this that friendship among nations is put to a real test. It is by going through a crisis together that lasting relations are established between individuals as between nations. India's naked aggression has provided us with an opportunity to know our friends.

"No better homage can the people of Pakistan pay to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam than to go on striking harder and harder blows on the enemy."

—President Ayub.

As I said at the time of its [The Rann of Kutch Agreement] conclusion, this agreement should not be regarded as victory for Pakistan or India, but victory for commonsense. I also expressed the hope that this might yet prove to be a turning-point in Indo-Pakistan relations paving the way for the solution of outstanding problems between the two countries through independent arbitration, should other peaceful means of solving them prove infructuous.

I must admit that the prospects have been rather dimmed by subsequent events. While violations by Indian troops of the cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir have multiplied and repressive measures against the valiant fighters in the Valley have been increased manifold, all that Indian statesmanship has been able to produce is the oft-rejected offer of a No-War-Pact. How do Indian rulers expect us to agree to such a Pact without their taking any concrete and positive steps for the settlement of our outstanding disputes? Some eminent and far-seeing Indian leaders have time and again exposed the hollowness of India's offer of No-War-Pact with Pakistan.

We, on our part, have always sought friendship and peace with India, for it is one of the principal objectives of our foreign policy to normalise relations with our neighbours. What has so far frustrated our efforts in respect of India is the unwillingness of the Indian rulers to honour the obligations assumed by them under international auspices. Unless agreements are honoured, disputes cannot be resolved. And so long as disputes remain unresolved, pious declarations about peaceful intentions can have no meaning.

**First-of-the-Month Broadcast
August 1, 1965**

The march of world events has brought to us a sharper realisation of our stakes and our responsibilities. We are making our own contribution to the lessening of tensions in the international field. New avenues of co-operation are opening up as our relations with our neighbours and the outside world improve. It has always been our endeavour to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with all and our efforts have been blessed with fruitful results.

I am sure that your thoughts must be turning to the recent events in the Vale of Kashmir. Years of oppression have not dimmed the hope which shines in the hearts of the Kashmiri people to achieve their destiny by deciding their own future. There is still time for the Indian rulers to recognise the gravity of the situation and bring about an honourable settlement.

We shall continue to strive for all that we believe to be right, just and honourable. We shall not slacken in the pursuit of peace and progress. With dedication to the tasks ahead of us and selfless devotion to duty, Pakistan should, with the grace of God, keep moving forward to greater goals. *Pakistan Paindabad.*

**Independence Day Broadcast
August 14, 1965**

* * *

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-alaikum.

I am speaking to you tonight under the threat of war in Kashmir which is being forced on us by India. The exchange of desultory fire which had been going on for months across the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, has now assumed a grimmer aspect. In certain sectors the armies of the two countries have clashed.

Failing to suppress the freedom fighters in the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir, India has embarked on a course of aggression across the cease-fire line. Indian artillery firing across the border on August 23 hurled several shells into village Awan of Gujrat district, destroying houses and killing 20 innocent people and injuring another 15.

This was preceded by persistent violations of the cease-fire line, a glaring example of which was the re-occupation of the three vacant posts on our side of the cease-fire line in the Kargil sector. It is significant that this forcible re-occupation of the posts came within hours of the threat of force extended by the Indian Prime Minister in a public address in Delhi. The Indian Defence Minister later confessed in Parliament: "Whenever India had found it necessary to cross the cease-fire line to defend it, she had done so, and I have no doubt we are ready to do so again". This readiness to use force in defiance of international agreements was further demonstrated by fresh incursions in the Poonch-Uri sector. These blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged.

The world might well ask why the Indians are so anxious to precipitate this war. The answer is simple: the Indian rulers find that their adventure in imperialism which started with the subjugation of Junagadh and Hyderabad and later brought Goa under their occupation is in serious jeopardy in Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir who had been living under Indian colonial oppression, have risen in open revolt. The Indian attempt to dismiss this popular uprising as the work of some infiltrators from across the cease-fire line is a pathetic attempt at deluding the world and will deceive no one who is even vaguely familiar with the history of freedom movement in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

The Kashmiris first rose in revolt against the Dogra tyranny as early as 1931. This was followed by the Quit Kashmir Movement of 1946 and the open rebellion of 1947 when parts of Kashmir broke away from Srinagar. There were large-scale disturbances in 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed and imprisoned. Five years later on February 8, 1958, there was another outbreak of popular insurgence on the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. Again in 1963 the State was rocked by a rebellion touched off by the theft of the Holy Relic. For months the Administration was virtually paralysed and according to independent observers "an incredible drama of religious and political rebellion" was witnessed throughout the State.

Again in May this year the people of Jammu and Kashmir rose against Indian authority in violent demonstration when Sheikh Abdullah was re-arrested after a brief reprieve. Scores of people were killed, hundreds wounded and thousands detained. To prevent

the world from knowing details of the people's movement 16 Kashmiri newspapers were closed down.

The present revolt comes as a final culmination of a brave and determined struggle to rid Jammu and Kashmir of the Indian stranglehold. On August 8, the Voice of Kashmir announced the formation of a Revolutionary Council and the setting up of a National Government. Fighting broke out in all parts of the State and clashes between the patriots and the Indian occupation forces took place right in the heart of Srinagar. Since then bands of freedom-fighters have been valiantly defying the Indian occupation army which has let loose a reign of terror against the local population. It has gone to the extent of setting fire to whole villages and shooting indiscriminately innocent men, women and children fleeing from the flames. The cruel burning of Batmalu in Srinagar with its Muslim inhabitants will sear the conscience of the world.

The heart of everyone who holds the cause of freedom dear is filled with respect and admiration for the valour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The successes achieved by the freedom-fighters have been striking and their heroic deeds will be a source of inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for freedom in different parts of the world. The torch of freedom lit by these patriots has been carried from village to village and city to city.

There has been a natural and spontaneous outburst of sympathy and support for the people of Jammu and Kashmir throughout the world. Responsible world opinion has urged upon Indian leadership to honour their commitment to the United Nations to hold a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir.

When the popular revolt broke out on the 8th of August, Indian leaders came out with a long wail that the cease-fire line has been violated. Their sudden concern for the cease-fire line was nothing more than an attempt to divert world attention from the moral basis of the Kashmir dispute. Soon, however, the Indians revealed themselves in their true colours by repeatedly transgressing the cease-fire line and occupying certain isolated positions in Azad Kashmir territory.

The Indian leaders and the Indian Press have been proudly announcing that India has crossed the cease-fire line. So much for Indian respect for the cease-fire line. How can she blame anyone

from Azad Kashmir, or for that matter from any part of Pakistan to go to the assistance of those brave people in Jammu and Kashmir who are locked in a life and death struggle against the brutal occupation forces of India.

India blames us for supporting these valiant fighters against Indian tyranny. We are doing no more than what we have always pledged to do, which is to support the people of Kashmir in exercising their right of self-determination as pledged to them by the United Nations, Pakistan, as well as India. India has dishonoured her pledge. Pakistan shall honour it.

Indian policy towards her neighbours, especially towards Pakistan and Kashmir, has from the very beginning been set on a collision course. The present conflict in Kashmir is the inevitable outcome of that policy. She alone will be responsible for the consequences that are bound to follow.

The people of Jammu and Kashmir will have the support of all those who believe in the freedom of man. Sheer physical force cannot break the spirit of a brave and determined people. If might and power could determine the fate of nations, no country in Africa and Asia would be free today.

India's history is replete with broken pledges. A recent example of her disregard for the sanctity of international commitments is her last-minute decision to call off the Ministerial talks on the Rann of Kutch Agreement. The provision for these talks was included in the Agreement at India's insistence. Yet she chose not to honour it on the spurious ground that these talks were unlikely to yield any results.

Even personal undertakings lose their sanctity with Indian leadership if expediency so demands. In a recent statement to a foreign correspondent, the Prime Minister of India claimed that, during his meeting with me in Karachi on 12th of October 1964, he told me that India was not going to change its position on Kashmir and that if I wanted to improve relations between the two countries we ought to tackle other problems one by one.

To put the record straight, I would like Mr. Shastri to recall that when I told him that the biggest obstacle in Indo-Pakistan relations was the question of Kashmir he readily conceded that the issue needed to be resolved but that he did not think himself strong enough

to carry it through with his people at that moment. I told him that as Prime Minister of India, it was his duty to build public opinion in favour of a satisfactory Kashmir solution. He might be criticised for it by some elements but the bulk of the Indian people would thank him for relieving them of a great anxiety. While agreeing with me he pleaded for time but instead of using time to build up public opinion, he allowed himself to be forced into making an ill-conceived attempt to "integrate" Kashmir with India through some constitutional device which has neither any moral validity nor any legal force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

As to the other problems which Mr. Shastri wanted to be tackled one by one I would like him to follow the course of evictions of innocent Muslims from the Indian States adjoining East Pakistan since our meeting. I told him that this inhuman expulsion of Indian citizens from their homes merely because they happened to be Muslims, must stop. He agreed and promised to let me know how soon a discussion on this subject could be arranged. While meeting still remains to be fixed, eviction of innocent people continues in a ruthless and planned manner. Since our meeting in October more than 75,000 people have been thrown out of their homes and pushed into East Pakistan bringing the total number of evictees to more than 5 lakhs.

The patience and restraint which we have imposed on ourselves in the interest of peace in this area has been misunderstood by India. The sense of discipline shown by our people springs from their faith and ability to defend their country. In this supreme hour of their trial, the people of Pakistan will rise like one man and give a befitting reply to Indian aggression.

Fellow countrymen : we are faced today with two challenges: one no less grave than the other. The first challenge is posed by India's hostility which has been mounting ever since she started receiving massive arms aid from some of our friends and allies. We had warned our friends time and again that this aid would not be used against China, but against Pakistan. This has come to pass. The second is the challenge to our self-reliance. We can turn both these challenges into an opportunity to release the creative energies of our people, bringing out qualities of resourcefulness and dedication. It is in times like these that nations fulfil their destiny. They survive by the strength of their

faith and character. May God grant us the courage to face this trial with unity and determination. *Ameen. Pakistan Paindabad.*

**First-of-the-Month Broadcast
September 1, 1965**

* * *

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-alaikum.

The hour of trial for a hundred million people of Pakistan has struck.

The Indian army attacked Pakistan territory in the early hours this morning on the Lahore front. In a cowardly fashion they also strafed from the air a stationary passenger train in Wazirabad. This is a grim sequel to the chain of wilful acts of aggression which the Indian rulers have been committing for the last five months. It started with their violation of the cease-fire line in May when they occupied three posts on our side in Kargil sector. At the intervention of the United Nations the Indians temporarily vacated these posts and then re-occupied them in August. In their aggression, they proceeded to occupy posts in Tithwal sector and then moved in full strength in the Uri-Poonch area. Not content with shattering the cease-fire line, they shelled village Awan in Pakistan territory. It was clear that the restraint which we had exercised in the face of all these provocations was misunderstood by the Indians. To contain the Indian aggression the Azad Kashmir forces were obliged to move in the Bhimber sector. The Indians recklessly swung their air force into action thus precipitating a grave crisis. By then it had become clear to the whole world that Indian aggression in Kashmir was only a preparation for an attack on Pakistan.

Today they have given final proof of this and of the evil intentions which India has always harboured against Pakistan since its inception. The Indian rulers were never reconciled to the establishment of an independent Pakistan where Muslims could build a homeland of their own. All their military preparations during the last 18 years have been directed against us. They exploited the Chinese

bogey to secure massive arms assistance from some of our friends in the West who never understood the mind of the Indian rulers and permitted themselves to be taken in by India's profession that once they were fully armed they will fight the Chinese. We always knew that these arms will be raised against us. Time has proved this so.

Now that the Indian rulers, with their customary cowardice and hypocrisy, have ordered their armies to march into the sacred territory of Pakistan, without a formal declaration of war, the time has come for us to give them a crushing reply which will put an end to India's adventure in imperialism.

The brave people of Lahore have been chosen as the first to confront the enemy. They will remain in history as the people who delivered the last blow to destroy the enemy.

The 100 million people of Pakistan whose hearts beat with the sound of "*La Elaha Illallah Mohammdur Rasulallah*" will not rest till India's guns are silenced for ever. The Indian rulers do not yet realise what people they have taken on. Dedicated to their faith and convinced of the justice of their cause, they will fight as one man in the name of God whose promise to mankind is that right shall triumph.

A state of emergency has been declared. We are at war. Our brave soldiers have gone forward to repel the enemy. The armed forces of Pakistan will prove their mettle. Armed with an invincible spirit and a determination which has never faltered they will give a crushing blow to the enemy.

The Government of Pakistan is fully prepared and all its resources will be employed to deal with the situation.

In our struggle against the aggressor we will no doubt have the sympathy and support of all those who believe in peace and freedom. We are invoking the United Nations Charter to exercise our inherent right of individual and collective self-defence recognised in Chapter VII of the Charter.

My dear countrymen: in this hour of trial you have to remain absolutely calm. You must know that each one of you has to perform a supreme duty which demands complete dedication and devotion. God in his infinite mercy will grant you success as he has always granted success to those who are engaged in a just cause. Be prepared to strike, and to strike hard, for the evil which has raised its head against your borders is doomed to destruction. Go forward

and meet the enemy. God is with you. *Pakistan Patnadabad.*

Special Broadcast on India's Aggression,
September 6, 1966

* * *

Excellency :

I have received your message and appreciate the expression of your deep concern at the grave turn that developments have taken in Jammu and Kashmir. Since September 1, the armed forces of India and the Azad Kashmir forces backed by units of the Pakistan Army are locked in battle in the Bhimber sector, and the air forces of India and Pakistan have also engaged in combat.

2. It is not necessary for me therefore to stress the gravity of the situation, the devastating consequences of which are self-evident.

3. In your message, you seem to consider August 5—when the so-called "infiltration" is alleged to have taken place—as the date when the cease-fire agreement of 1949 between India and Pakistan began to be so widely disregarded by unprecedented acts of violence along or in the vicinity of the cease-fire line as to have reduced that agreement to little consequence. If the cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir was reduced to a nullity, this process has taken place over a long period of time as a result of Indian designs and provocations. The more recent and grave instance occurred in May last when the Indian army crossed the cease-fire line in the Kargil sector and occupied three posts on the Pakistan side of the line. Thus the origin and source of the conflict which is now taking place in Jammu and Kashmir cannot be traced to August 5.

4. The Kashmir dispute must be viewed in the context of the tragic history of the Kashmir dispute of the denial since 1949 of the right of self-determination to the people of the State, and the annexation of their homeland by India through the so-called "integration" measures, in the teeth of their bitter protest and opposition.

5. The cease-fire line, it needs to be recalled and emphasised here, was brought about by the U.N. resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. These resolutions, which were negotiated by the United Nations, constituted an international agreement between India

and Pakistan to implement the pledge of a plebiscite to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future. The cease-fire line agreement followed from the obligations accepted by both parties under those resolutions. Since the cease-fire in the State was effected in 1949, India at first stalled on their implementation and subsequently repudiated them.

6. From 1949 to May 1965, India spurned every offer and every suggestion and barred all avenues for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. She ruled out recourse to the international court of justice. She rejected mediation, conciliation or good offices of any third party including that of Your Excellency. If in the past, India has made some show of willingness to enter into bilateral negotiations with Pakistan, events have shown that her motive was not to reach a settlement but to forestall effective international action or to tide over some crisis in her internal and foreign relations. The Government of India's real attitude towards bilateral negotiations was made clear by the Indian Home Minister when, on the 1st July 1965, he stated, "Kashmir is an integral part of India. It is a settled fact which cannot be the subject of debate or negotiations. The talk of self-determination is devoid of meaning or relevance."

7. India has made it quite clear that she will not permit the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to be ascertained and that her objective is to make permanent the partition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan along the cease-fire in total violation of her obligation to implement the right of self-determination.

8. In pursuit of this objective, the Government of India have embarked on the unlawful and provocative course of annexing the occupied portions of the State. In the process, a reign of terror and oppression has been let loose on the people. Thousands of Kashmiris have been gaoled without trial for the crime of demanding that India should honour her pledge to hold a plebiscite. Sheikh Abdullah, along with his lieutenant, Mirza Afzal Beg, has for the third time been put in prison where they have already spent 11 years of their lives and where they are now apparently condemned to end their days.

9. The situation in Indian occupied Kashmir today is that after 17 years of patient but vain expectation and hope, the people of Kashmir, finding all avenues of peaceful realisation for their right

of self-determination barred to them, have taken to arm against Indian tyranny. Who can blame them? The freedom-fighters who have challenged the might of the Indian army are not "raiders" but sons of the soil of Jammu and Kashmir, ready to make the supreme sacrifice for their cause.

10. The people of Azad Kashmir have been engaged for years over India's brutal repression of the freedom movement in Kashmir. If more than six divisions of the Indian army deployed along the nearly 500-mile long cease-fire line have been unable to prevent them from moving across the line to aid the armed uprising of their compatriots in occupied Kashmir, how can it be expected that the much fewer troops on the Pakistan army would be able to seal the line against them?

It is but natural that India should seek to blame outsiders for the uprising in occupied Kashmir since she would have the world believe that the people of the State are happy with their lot under Indian occupation.

I am constrained to express my surprise and regret that though the United Nations military observer group has admitted that in most cases the actual identity of those engaging in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the line and the actual crossing of it could not be verified by direct observation and evidence, yet the group should have thought it fit to conclude that the uprising in Jammu and Kashmir resulted from the crossing of the cease-fire line from the Pakistan side by armed men, for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side.

11. Failing to suppress the freedom-fighters in the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir, India has embarked on a course of unlimited aggression across the cease-fire line. On August 15 Indian forces again crossed the cease-fire line to take over three unoccupied posts near Kargil, which they had earlier been made to vacate upon Your Excellency's intervention. Significantly, this was done within hours of a public threat by the Indian Prime Minister which was tantamount to that of invading Azad Kashmir. Later, the Indian Defence Minister proudly announced in the Indian Lok Sabha that "India has crossed the cease-fire line in the past and would do so again". On 23rd August, Indian forces shelled "Awan Sharif", a village in West Pakistan killing 25 persons and causing injuries to others and much damage to property. On 24th August, Indian troops crossed the cease-fire line

and occupied two posts in the Tithwal sector on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line. Again on the same day, Indian forces crossed the cease-fire line in the Uri-Poonch sector and seized some Pakistani posts and on 1st September, took Haji Pir Pass.

12. Simultaneously with these acts of war, India intensified her acts of repression of Kashmiris, which in their scope and nature threaten to assume the proportion of genocide. On 14th August, the entire Baramulla suburb of Srinagar inhabited by Muslims, was set on fire and razed to the ground and the people burnt alive to punish the residents for the support and help they were extending to the freedom-fighters. This has been repeated in several other places in occupied Kashmir and has become the pattern of reprisals. Miss Mirdula Sarabai, the well-known Indian social worker, has testified that in the guise of taking action against the so-called "infiltrators", the Indian army has turned upon the entire Muslim population of the occupied territory and perpetrated atrocities upon them. The Foreign Press has also commented on the incendiary role of the Indian army.

These acts of aggression and grave violations of the cease-fire agreement have created a situation in which the human rights of the people of Kashmir as well as the security of Pakistan are equally threatened. Seventy-five Indian battalions are poised to launch aggression on Azad Kashmir and Pakistan.

13. In response to this grave situation created by the Indian armed forces and to forestall further aggression by them, the Azad Kashmir forces backed by Pakistan army, were forced in the exercise of the inherent right of self-defence to cross the cease-fire line in the Bhimber sector for the first time since the cease-fire agreement was reached 17 years ago, and after repeated Indian armed attacks and occupation of Azad Kashmir territories by the Indian army. This crossing took place on the 1st of this month.

14. India escalated this conflict by mounting air attacks against Pakistan forces, on the same day, compelling the Pakistan air force to intervene. Until then, Pakistan had refrained from air action even though our isolated and thinly-manned posts in the Uri-Poonch sector could not have been occupied if we had given them air support.

15. On September 4, India carried the escalation of the conflict a stage further. The Indian Air force twice violated Pakistan territory

in strength escorted by MIG 21 aircraft and now my Government has good reason to believe that India has begun to again deploy and mass her armed forces against West and East Pakistan. Weeks earlier, India moved a brigade from Aksai Chin and a mountain division from the Nefa area, armed and equipped by the United States and some Commonwealth countries for use against China, to reinforce the six divisions of the Indian army which have been suppressing the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is therefore clear from these repeated strikes across the cease-fire line and step by step escalation of the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir that India has embarked on a premeditated course of aggression and war to seize the whole of Azad Kashmir territory, and in that process not to flinch from even a sub-continental war. It will be recalled, immediately following the reverses suffered by the Indian army in the Rann of Kutch some months earlier, Indian Government leaders publicly threatened that India would attack Pakistan at a time and place of her own choosing.

In the circumstances, Pakistan must take every step necessary to discharge its responsibilities and duties for the defence of her legitimate interests and territorial integrity.

From the foregoing, it is evident that India has embarked upon a course of terror, oppression and aggression in Kashmir. It has plainly manifested every intention of aggression against Pakistan. The responsibility for the current grave situation in that state therefore rests entirely on her.

Let me now turn to the other points that you have raised in your message. That the Kashmir dispute can be resolved peacefully, and not by military action and have also drawn my attention to the obligations of member states of the United Nations not to have recourse to the use of force in the settlement of international disputes, but to seek pacific methods of settlement.

Let me assure Your Excellency, that Pakistan remains dedicated to the Charter of the United Nations and the obligations of membership of the Organisation including the peaceful procedure of settlement. You are aware that during the last seventeen years, despite all the provocations and acts of repression by India in Jammu and Kashmir, despite India's open repudiation of the UNCIP and Security Council's resolutions pledging self-de-

termination to the people of Kashmir and despite India's sinister pattern of annexing the State in the face of their bitter opposition and in total disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, Pakistan did not abandon her faith that reason would one day dawn on India and turn her to the path of peace. It was with this faith that the Pakistan Government turned repeatedly to the Security Council, when direct negotiations with India in 1953, 1955, 1960, 1962 and 1963 failed to produce a just and equitable solution.

To my infinite regret, our experience of seeking redress in the forum of the Security Council has time and again turned out to be disheartening. You will recall that in 1964, the members of the Security Council would not even agree to recommend direct negotiations between India and Pakistan with the assistance, as may be mutually acceptable, of a third party, or even the Secretary General. To our deep sorrow and regret, the end of the debate in that forum did not end in a consensus, much less a resolution.

This is not to say that Pakistan has lost all faith in the efficiency of the United Nations as an instrument of peace. We reaffirm our confidence in the solution of international disputes by peaceful means. This confidence extends to settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

I trust that in view of what I have stated in the foregoing part of this reply to your message, the action which the Pakistan army has taken in Jammu and Kashmir in support of the Azad Kashmir forces, was to defend Azad Kashmir and Pakistan territory against India who tried to solve the Kashmir dispute by force of arms. This is a purely defensive measure forced on Pakistan.

You have expressed your conviction that a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute can be found and have appealed to me to indicate immediately our intention to respect the cease-fire agreement and return to the status quo ante. You have also assured me of the fullest possible assistance by you in the restoration of peace in Kashmir and the solution of the dispute.

A number of Chiefs of State and Government of friendly countries have associated themselves with your appeal and some have offered their good offices for mediation.

I am grateful to you and to them for these assurances and offers, which I find heartening.

At the same time, I cannot but be candid and express to you our misgivings.

Your appeal seeks nothing more than a return to the status quo ante without any assurance that you and the Security Council will strive to implement the U.N. resolutions pertaining to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. You say that the quiet which would result from mutual observance of the cease-fire would afford the most favourable climate in which to seek a resolution of political differences. I would like to recall that the cease-fire agreement was observed from 1949 to 1965, when India chose to reduce it to a scrap of paper. Yet, during these seventeen years, tranquillity along the cease-fire line did not lead to that result. The Security Council faced with India's bad faith, intransigence and growing power, chose practically to wash its hands of the responsibility for a peaceful and honourable settlement.

I fear that your present appeal will only serve to perpetuate that injustice by leaving the people of occupied Kashmir to the mercy of India. What is to become of the brave people of Kashmir who are fighting for their freedom? I cannot believe that it would be the intention of the United Nations to permit India to liquidate them and to consolidate its stranglehold over occupied Kashmir.

This leads me again to repeat what I have stated earlier that if a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute is to result from the intervention of the United Nations, it is necessary for the world organization to go to the heart of the tragic problem and not merely to deal with its periphery. It must turn its attention to the issue of self-determination and not only to the cease-fire line. The concern of the United Nations must extend to the implementation of the UNCIP resolutions as well as to the observance of the cease-fire agreement. The cease-fire was only the first part of an inter-related and integral whole. Therefore, insistence on a cease-fire can only be meaningful if there is a self-implementing agreement to follow it.

I should be misunderstood as implying that I under-estimate the importance of your assistance in the restoration of peace in Kashmir and the solution of its problems. On the contrary, I welcome your assurance in this regard as a step forward by itself. However, there is no evidence yet that your assistance would be equally

welcome to India much less that India is prepared to reverse the dangerous ill-conceived course of her policies in Kashmir.

If this armed struggle for freedom is to be halted and calm is to be restored in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, if indeed peace in this region is to be preserved, then the right course for the United Nations, India and Pakistan is to proceed immediately to fulfil the pledge they gave to the people of Jammu and Kashmir 18 years ago. It is they who must be permitted freely to decide the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan as stated in that pledge.

Accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration and warm personal regards.

M. AYUB KHAN

**Reply to U. N. Secretary General's Message
Rawalpindi,
September 7, 1965**

* * *

My dear countrymen:

In this fateful phase in our history when we are engaged in repelling the aggression of a ruthless enemy, each one of you has a part to play. While our brave armed forces are giving their best in the field of battle, the entire nation must back them up by mobilising all available resources.

Each hour of the day and night, you must ask yourself the question: what contribution am I making to the national war effort? You can answer this in a variety of ways—by avoiding waste—by consuming less—by producing more. The more you reduce your needs, the less you will be in need.

No price is too high, no sacrifice too great in the defence of our homeland. To channel the offers of help that are pouring in, I have instituted the National Defence Fund. All banks and post offices have been instructed to receive contributions to the fund from the public in cash and in defence savings certificates and securities. Contributions should be made in the name of Accountant General Pakistan Revenues and the Accountant Generals, East and West Pakistan.

I appeal to all of you to contribute generously to this fund. It is total war which recognises no front. All of you are in the front line. Play your part valiantly and deserve well of the country.
Pakistan Paindabad.

**Appeal for Contributions to
National Defence Fund
September 10, 1965**

* * *

The Quaid-i-Azam's Death Anniversary this year comes at a time when the 100 million people of Pakistan are engaged in a deadly war with an enemy whose hatred for Pakistan is matched only by his perfidy. India tried to stifle Pakistan at its very birth. Undaunted by her machinations, the Quaid-i-Azam gave the clarion call 'Pakistan has come to stay' and God willing stay it shall. The sacrifices that Pakistanis are making for the preservation of their homeland will not be in vain. Pakistanis are steeled in their resolve not only to throw the intruder from their soil, but to give a crushing blow to the Indian aggression.

In this hour of reckoning, Pakistan has the sympathy and support of many a nation of the world who believe in justice and freedom. In fact, it is in times like this that friendship among nations is put to a real test. It is by going through a crisis together that lasting relations are established between individuals as between nations. India's naked aggression has provided us with an opportunity to know our friends.

No better homage can the people of Pakistan pay to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam than to go on striking harder and harder blows on the enemy. Indian rulers will fail as miserably in their designs today as they failed then in their designs to frustrate the Pakistan Movement led by the Quaid-i-Azam. No impediment was too big for us then, and no trial will be too severe for us now. Our victory will be victory for a just cause and with faith in God, we shall move forward to greater glory. *Pakistan Paindabad.*

**Broadcast to the Nation on the
Seventeenth Death Anniversary
of the Quaid-i-Azam
September 11, 1965**

Excellency,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 12, requesting that I order a cease-fire, to take effect at 18:00 hours on September 14th.

2. I fully appreciate the weight of the considerations that have led you to make this suggestion. I am aware too of the dangers implicit in the present conflict and, in particular, of the likelihood of this conflict assuming wider dimensions involving a threat to world peace.

3. The current war is not of Pakistan's seeking. The records of the United Nations during the last 17 years bear testimony to the fact that Pakistan has accepted every proposal of the United Nations or its mediators to settle the Kashmir dispute peacefully, while India has rejected every one of those proposals. The responsibility for unleashing the present war lies squarely on India, which is seeking to perpetuate her stranglehold on the State of Jammu and Kashmir by means of a military decision. It is this Indian design that lies at the root of the present conflict. It was in pursuance of this same design that India attacked Pakistan on September 6.

This was an act of naked aggression. It is astonishing that the cease-fire resolution of the Security Council of September 6, which you are urging us to implement, completely ignores this basic fact.

4. Nevertheless, Pakistan is not against a cease-fire as such. In fact, in order to save the sub-continent from being engulfed in what would clearly be an appalling catastrophe, we would welcome a cease-fire. But it must be purposeful cease-fire: one that effectively precludes that catastrophe and not merely postpones it. In other words, it should provide for a self-executing arrangement for the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute which is the root cause of the India-Pakistan conflict.

5. While you propose a "cease-fire without condition" you go on to add that the Security Council would, soon after the cease-fire, proceed to implement its Resolution of September 6. The provisions of the Security Council Resolutions of September 4 and September 6 that the cease-fire be followed immediately by withdrawal of all armed Pakistan personnel to the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and the consolidation of the cease-fire line through the

strengthening of the U.N. Observer group would result in restoring India's military grip over Kashmir. We would thus merely revert to the same explosive position which triggered the present conflict.

6. Moreover, India has committed wanton aggression against Pakistan. The foregoing cease-fire proposals, if implemented, would in effect reward the aggressor.

7. We would therefore urge that, if the conflict is to be resolved and this sub-continent spared the horrors of an even wider war, the cease-fire must be accompanied by action which would resolve the real cause of this conflict. This would be possible if the cease-fire is followed immediately by complete withdrawal of the Indian and Pakistan forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the induction of a U.N. sponsored Afro-Asian force to maintain order in the State and the holding of a plebiscite in the State within three months.

8. What we suggest is just and fair and necessary in the present circumstances. In making this suggestion we are not imposing any disability on India which we are not ourselves prepared to accept. In our judgment, the only honourable way to resolve this conflict over Kashmir is for both India and Pakistan as well as the United Nations, to fulfil their pledge to the people of Kashmir contained in the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 and permit them, in exercise of their inherent right of self-determination, freely to decide the question whether their state should join India or Pakistan. This is the only way in which we can achieve enduring peace between Pakistan and India.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Letter from the President
to the U. N. Secretary General
September, 12, 1965

* * *

Your message of September 15 has been received by me today.

2. You propose that since you have not found it possible to bring about a cease-fire as required by the Security Council, Pakistan agree as a first step to stop fighting and, following the agreement of 1962, I meet the Indian Prime Minister in a new effort, through bilateral negotiations, to reach an honourable and equitable

settlement of the Kashmir dispute and other related differences. You have been kind enough further to offer your own good offices in this connection.

3. While we are agreeable to stop fighting in principle, I must point out that despite Pakistan's most earnest efforts, the Ministerial level talks that followed the 1962 agreement proved barren and abortive because of India's firm refusal to arrive at an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute. On the other hand, India let loose a reign of terror and repression in the State and proceeded to adopt measures to "integrate" the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union. In adopting these measures India showed once again that she has no regard for her own solemn commitments and treats them merely as scraps of paper whenever it suits her.

4. We are fully conscious of the gravity of the present situation and also of the dangers inherent in the catastrophe that threatens to engulf the sub-continent, particularly because of the certainty that as time goes on the present conflict would necessarily assume graver and wider dimensions.

5. However, a cease-fire can be meaningful only if it is followed by such steps as would lead to a lasting and honourable settlement in order to prevent the recurrence of a catastrophe such as now threatens India and Pakistan. To bring about such a settlement, it would be necessary to evolve an effective machinery and procedure that would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

Message from President Ayub Khan
to the U. N. Secretary General
September 15, 1965.

* * *

President Mohammad Ayub Khan today declared that Pakistan was faced with a life and death struggle and was determined to defend itself to the last, whatever the cost.

The President said that India had extended her aggression beyond Kashmir to Pakistan's sacred soil and every inch of it would be defended.

Talking to a crowded Press conference, attended by Pakistani and foreign journalists, President Ayub Khan said that a military

decision would not solve any problem. On the contrary it will create more and more bitterness and complications.

Referring to a suggestion about cease-fire the President said such a cease-fire should be purposeful and ensure an honourable settlement of the Kashmir problem. That, he said, would prevent the possibility of cease-fire being used for another armed conflict.

3-Point Plan

The President said that Pakistan had already put forward its three-point plan which envisages withdrawal of forces of both Pakistan and India from the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir followed by induction of United Nations force drawn from Afro-Asian countries to look after the security of the state and a plebiscite within three months of the cease-fire.

President Ayub Khan said that whatever the solution of the Kashmir dispute, people of Jammu and Kashmir should be consulted. He added there were several resolutions of the United Nations on the Kashmir dispute which India unfortunately had rejected.

Asked about the possibility of an independent Kashmir the President said this would create another cockpit of Power politics. He did not think that could be a possible solution.

The President said it would be better if common sense prevails and the present conflict is brought to a quick end.

The present war, he said, is not going to do any good to India or Pakistan. The President wished India could realise how much she was losing by not having good neighbourly relations with Pakistan. Pakistan, he said, cannot take place of India nor India could occupy a good position without the help of Pakistan.

President Ayub Khan recalled having told the late Mr. Nehru about the need of working out plans for living as good neighbours, But he regretted that India had not been able to realise benefits of good neighbourly relations. Such working arrangements ensuring good relations between the two countries, the President said, must be based on honourable terms.

Giving the genesis of the struggle for Pakistan, the President pointed out that the Hindu society ridden by a rigid caste system

made it impossible for Muslims to exist and grow. The partition of the sub-continent into two sovereign independent States, he said, was motivated by a desire to ensure for the people of the sub-continent an opportunity to develop according to their own genius. It was unthinkable, he added, geographically placed as the two countries were they could visualise a war of annihilation against each other. Pakistan was not a theocratic State but a modern State retaining spiritual and moral contents of the Islamic civilisation.

It was unfortunate, the President went on to say, that Indian leadership had not accepted the fact of Partition and was all the time engaged in machination against Pakistan seeking to cripple her economically and reduce her to a state of vassalage. The attempt to grab Kashmir was a part of the same strategy, he said.

President Ayub Khan said, India was honour-bound to hold a plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir as stipulated in successive UN Resolutions and as solemnly affirmed by the parties concerned, that is, United Nations, India and Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. Instead of holding a plebiscite in the State, India had tried to absorb it through oppression and inequitous laws.

Spontaneous Uprising

What had now happened in Indian occupied Kashmir, he added, was spontaneous uprising of the people who had been denied the right of determining their own future for the last 18 years as a result of India's going back on her pledged word.

It was but natural that their blood relations living on this side of the cease-fire line, mostly war veterans, should get agitated on what was happening to Muslims on the other side of the cease-fire line. They are not infiltrators but sons of the soil having a common stake in the future of their homeland.

The President briefly recounted successive acts of aggression perpetrated by India against Azad Kashmir territory. First, it was on Kargil sector as early as May this year and then Tithwal, Uri, Poonch sectors followed by the attack across the international border on Pakistan itself.

President Ayub said these were premeditated acts of aggression. Pakistan had apprehended a breach of the cease-fire line and the invasion of Pakistan itself ever since the time India turned down the suggestion for disengagement all along Pakistan-India border following the Rann of Kutch agreement.

US Role

Answering questions the President said that the United States had a role to play in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and should do it in a positive way. The USA had a lot of influence in India and in Pakistan also, and it should come out directly and positively for a just and peaceful solution of the dispute between India and Pakistan. Actually USA should have used its influence to this effect in 1962.

The Commonwealth too, he said in reply to another question, had a role to play in the dispute, perhaps a greater role than others because both India and Pakistan happened to be members of the Commonwealth.

President Ayub Khan said that he relied on good common-sense for an end to the present conflict. But if Pakistan was left with no choice it would continue the fight to the bitter end.

The President said the United States had both power and influence, and with its influence, the United States could further its own interest of having a strong Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

This, said President Ayub, was the essence of the United States policy towards India and Pakistan. If the US did not use its influence at this stage, it would not be doing any good to itself.

Asked whether Pakistan would welcome a five-man Commonwealth Prime Ministers' peace mission to the sub-continent, he said, "it will be welcome".

He was also asked if Pakistan had any complaints about the United Kingdom's role in the present situation. President Ayub said: "They haven't played any role so far, so there are no complaints yet".

Indian Offensive

The President outlined features of the Indian offensive from a map of the war area and said that the Indians had started concen-

trating their forces in Akhnur sector from where they posed a direct threat to Pakistan's vital line of communication near Gujrat. In order to forestall this offence Pakistan had to cross the cease-fire line in the Chhamb area. But before this happened the Indians, besides concentrating their forces at this point, had shelled villages in Pakistan territory. These villages were not located in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir state.

He said that by attacking Pakistan the Indians had extended the area of conflict. Their offensive on Lahore and Sialkot, however, had been halted and the Indian Army pushed back.

President Ayub said the Indian intentions had become clear when they had refused a Pakistani offer for a meeting between the General Staff of the two countries to discuss and agree upon the withdrawal of the troops of the two countries from the international boundary from positions they had taken up during the Rann of Kutch fighting. But India wanted to keep them deployed at such points from where she could pounce upon the Pakistan territory. In fact after this offer the Indians had moved an armoured division and infantry to Jammu sector facing Sialkot.

Hostile Moves

President Ayub then reviewed the Indian hostile moves since the Rann of Kutch fighting. He enumerated the occupation of posts in Kargil, Tithwal, Uri and Poonch sectors as aggressive Indian actions in which they crossed the cease-fire line to invade the Azad Kashmir territory. By these moves India had dishonoured completely the cease-fire line in Kashmir, he said.

Giving a background to the events in Kashmir, the President said: "It had its genesis in the Indian repression. In the face of such repression even the most docile people rise".

He pointed out, along the cease-fire line was a neutral belt 1,000 yards wide and that only Muslims lived in this area. Recently, the Indians had by constant firing and other hostile acts forced these people to leave this area.

"These people had the worst time. Indian troops fired on them, killing them and their children. At night they were rounded up and insulted. These people approached the Government of the

Azad territory to provide them police or troops. This was not accepted because it would have been against the Azad Kashmir Government's international obligations. The Azad Kashmir Government however provided them arms to defend for themselves".

Plebiscite Promise

President Ayub Khan said that Pandit Nehru had openly and publicly stated that once peace had been restored in Kashmir the people of the area would be provided with an opportunity to determine their own future. This plebiscite he had promised under the natural auspices of the United Nations or any other authority. But he went back on his solemn pledge and then steps were taken to swallow this territory by stages.

India had done this through hirelings. In such circumstances any country could find hirelings. But the fact remained that the people of Kashmir had not reconciled to the Indian rule. All efforts to convert the people of Kashmir during the last 18 years had failed and they had not accepted the Indian hegemony.

The Government of India had imposed a most tyrannical rule in Kashmir and had applied the most iniquitous laws like the Defence of India Rules. The application of these rules in Kashmir had been specially severe. These rules were imposed under the pretext and bogey of fighting against China but they had been continued and used more harshly in the Valley of Kashmir.

Thousands of people in Kashmir, including the leaders of Kashmiris, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, had been put behind bars for the crime of asking for freedom for their people.

The President reviewed the entire background leading to the Indian massive attack on Pakistan. The President, who was very calm and relaxed said: "We are fighting a battle for our survival. India had mounted the aggressive attack on Lahore and Sialkot with the purpose of occupying Lahore and Sialkot and then joining their forces in order to dictate their terms to us. The invading forces have however been already pushed back."

India, the President said, had attacked Pakistan after due planning. Their hostile intentions had been clear since the inception of

this country. But their refusal to withdraw troops following an agreement over the Rann of Kutch territorial dispute indicated that they were meditating an attack on Pakistan. We were all the time prepared for this aggression and we knew it would come.

President Ayub said this conflict had been thrust on Pakistan by Indian. Pakistan had always wanted to live in peace with India and he had during the last seven years made several attempts to convince the Indian leaders, including the late Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and the present Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, the desirability of finding a method for the two countries to live together in peace and good neighbourliness, decency and honour.

He said he had undertaken a special journey to New Delhi to advocate good neighbourly relations between the two countries during the lifetime of the late Prime Minister Nehru. But all his appeals had fallen on deaf ears. All his advocacy for a working agreement to live with India on the basis of equality and honourable basis by settling the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN Resolutions had not been heeded to by the Indian leaders.

"The present conflict will do us no good. It will do no good to India either. What will India get out of this struggle I have not been able to fathom".

He said, Pakistan had all along been aware that being a smaller country she could not take the place or assume the role India is capable of playing.

But Indian leadership should also realise that they could not play their due role unless India secured the help of Pakistan for it.

President Ayub maintained that the creators of Pakistan wanted to live in mutual accommodation with India because the two countries were geographically so placed that they had no other alternative.

As a contrast, the Indian policies had revolved round only one point, namely, how to cripple and weaken Pakistan. The Indians wanted either to swallow Pakistan or to make it their satellite. The lines of their policy had been clear right from the beginning.

"What were their motives in adopting this policy we do not know. In these days of nationalism it is not possible to achieve such things. If the 100 millions Muslims of Pakistan were to become a part of India they would be a source of permanent trouble

for them. Similarly if Pakistan were so foolish as to attempt a conquest of some indigestible Hindu area she would not be happy.

President Ayub said that the policy of India to cripple Pakistan was at its worst when she occupied Kashmir. India was divided on a certain basis. India had prevented the application of this principle on Kashmir.

The obvious purpose of her policy was to emaciate Pakistan, the President said.

Questioned as to how the war would end if Pakistan was determined to continue the struggle, the President said that if the common sense prevailed upon India it should end soon. There should be cease-fire on the basis of three-point self-executing agreement for the settlement of Kashmir dispute.

Self-Defence

In reply to another question the President declared that Pakistan has no intention to extend the war. Pakistan is acting in self-defence, he added.

Asked as to how long Pakistan will continue war, President replied, "As long as necessary".

Q. What would be the attitude of Pakistan if a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' mission is organised to mediate between Pakistan and India?

A. We will welcome it.

Q. Since the two Commonwealth countries are fighting each other has the Commonwealth any validity?

A. The Commonwealth has a great responsibility.

Q. Should the plebiscite include the choice of becoming independent?

A. That will open bigger issues. I don't think it will be practicable. It will open cockpit of trouble.

Asked to comment on reports that India was intending to declare cease-fire unilaterally, the President said that he had not received any such proposal.

The President said: "We will see in what spirit it is announced, in fact."

He recalled, in the Rann of Kutch fighting, Pakistan took

initiative for the cease-fire unilaterally, and India followed it.

The enmity between the two countries was because of the Kashmir problem or is it also because India does not accept independence of Pakistan?

A. India has in any case no love for Pakistan. It is a wrong notion on the part of India to expect that they can subjugate hundred million people of this country.

Q. Mr. Dean Rusk has said that China is fishing into troubled waters?

A. China has done nothing. They have not asked us to do this thing or that thing.

Q. What about the role of Britain?

A. They have not played any active role so far.

Replying to another question the President said that there must be a purposeful cease-fire, followed by a solution of Kashmir dispute. If cease-fire takes place without solution of the dispute again preparations for conflict would begin.

Asked if Pakistan would insist on three months' limit for the holding of plebiscite, the President said that it may be held even earlier.

Replying to a question about U Thant's mission the President said that Pakistan's view-point was explained to him.

Asked if Pakistan hoped for great Powers' intervention or military decision to end the conflict, President said that he hoped for a common sense decision.

Earlier, the President impressed upon India not to think in terms of occupying Pakistan. Pakistan, he said, has no such intentions about India. He said if Pakistan becomes a part of India would it not be a source of problem for that country? Similarly if Pakistan occupies India will indigestible Hindus not be burden for us?

He reminded that Muslims of the sub-continent fought for Pakistan because Hindus and Muslims were two nations with different religions and culture. In the days of nationalism two nations could never live together, and could never be combined.

He pointed out that two nations believed in different philosophies. Hindus believed in caste system while Muslims believed in one God and equality and brotherhood of mankind. The belie-

vers of the two concepts could never live together under one flag, he said.

It, however, did not mean that all Muslims from India would have migrated to Pakistan and Hindus would have gone to India. It was meant that two sovereign States would look after their respective minorities well and ensure their safety.

On this basis, he said, the two countries should have lived on permanent understanding and friendship.

He also pointed out that the two countries have similar problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease. They should solve these problems instead of living in enmity, he said.

**Press Conference at Rawalpindi,
September 15, 1965**

FEROZSONS, KARACHI.

SEPTEMBER, 1965

Produced by
The Department of Films & Publications
Government of Pakistan